

Interview Approved For Release 1999/09/17 :

As Mr. K. Said To Lippmann:

Reviewed by J. William Fulbright

Sen. Fulbright is chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

THE COMMUNIST WORLD AND OURS By Walter Lippmann. Atlantic-Little, Brown, \$4.

NO MAN HAS contributed more to the thoughtful considerations of the American scene than has Walter Lippmann during his long and distinguished career. He has a genius for extracting the essential threads of meaning from complex and confusing circumstances. In domestic affairs, his analysis often clarifies the abstruse and puzzling questions which arise from our complicated system of government.

This latest book in the field of foreign affairs from Mr. Lippmann's pen does not offer a cure for all the ills which afflict our relations with the USSR, but it does make some sensible suggestions regarding those relations. International affairs may not yield quite so readily as do domestic affairs to logical analysis, but understanding of statecraft and a feeling for the traditions of organized societies have produced in this instance, an interesting, a useful and a provocative volume.

THIS WORK is divided into two parts, the first being the interview with Khrushchev and the second the author's own views and policy suggestions.

Mr. Lippmann's report of the interview is objective and matter of fact, but he conveys an interesting and lively impression of a powerful and ominous man. Khrushchev, he says, was quite relaxed and had none of the symptoms of a busy and preoccupied man.

In the anteroom to his office there were "no guards, no people waiting, no secretaries carrying papers, no newspapermen," "and there was none of the hustle and bustle which usually prevails in the outer rooms of busy and important officials." Under such conditions a man can think, and a man who directs a powerful nation with the ability and the opportunity to think can be a formidable and troublesome antagonist.

Khrushchev believes, says Mr. Lippmann, that American policy rests on an obsolete estimate of the existing balance of military power, because our forward bases in Germany and Turkey cannot be defended against Russia's rockets. However, "communism," according to Khrushchev, "is not a danger as a military policy, but as an ideology . . . We—the Communists—will cause you, the Americans, more trouble each year."

Under the new seven-year plan, the Communists expect to surpass the United States in per capita production. The United States, says the master of the Kremlin, "is living the last years of its greatness."

ONE OF KHRUSHCHEV'S principal complaints against the United States was that we are contributing to the re-militarization of Germany. He warned that such a policy

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could well result in Germany being destroyed or more probably joining the USSR in order to avoid destruction by nuclear missiles.

Perhaps the most significant revelation of the interview were Khrushchev's concerns about German affairs and his confidence in the power and effectiveness of his missiles of intermediate range.

The cause of our bad relations with Russia, Mr. Lippmann says, is the suspicion each side holds that the other side intends to commit aggression. This suspicion arises from the belief that in the long run neither side can tolerate the other.

In spite of all the propaganda to the contrary, we do not inhabit "one world," says Mr. Lippmann. "But looking at the history of the globe, the truth, as I see it, is that there has never been one world, that there has never been a universal state or a universal religion."

So, he concludes, we should not approach this conflict as if it were "a religious war in which the contending positions are absolute." Such a policy leaves no room for maneuver, for diplomacy, for statesmanship, or in short no hope for any solution except total war.

MR. LIPPMANN is not without hope, that is, if we keep our powder dry and keep plenty of it, as he advises us to do. But we must find a way to provide adequate armaments "without working ourselves up into a frenzy of threats and fear" and without insisting that all the smaller nations of the world line up on one side or the other.

The main threat of the Communist states "lies not in their clandestine activity but in the force of their example. Their example of material achievement has especial appeal to the underdeveloped peoples of Asia and Africa, an appeal not easy for us to meet." He suggests that the only convincing answer to this challenge is for the West to help India match the achievements of China without sacrificing her free society.

In Europe, the critical area of the movement, we should strive to bring about the withdrawal of the Red army gradually and with prudent safeguards. "I think," says Mr. Lippmann, "that we are missing the bus as long as we fail to identify ourselves with the idea of bringing to an end, however gradually, the military occupation of the European Continent."

Such sentiments only a short time ago aroused a storm of protest. They may again, but "the less we plunge ourselves into hysterics, the more likely we are to take good care of our affairs," wisely concludes the author of this succinct and penetrating book.